inhabitants include *māopoopo* 'unity', *fēalofani* 'mutual compassion', and *fīlēmū* 'peace'. These concepts appear repeatedly throughout the book, especially in sections dealing with the post-contact period.

It is good to have a thorough, integrated, and widely accessible account of Tokelau history and culture, and in this respect the volume is a valuable contribution. The theoretical focus, while of interest, seems to be largely a framework on which to hang the data. The writing is clear and generally straightforward. The book is well edited, with few typographical errors.

Tokelau is a fairly thick volume—over 300 large pages—produced on slick, high quality paper, with dozens of photographs and other illustrations. In some ways it resembles a coffee-table book; yet the price is surprisingly reasonable considering the quality of production. For academic authors to receive such treatment from a publisher is certainly refreshing. It will be interesting to see if a historical ethnography of an obscure Pacific archipelago can attract sufficient readership to make this work a winner in the marketplace.

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The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific, edited by Doug Munro and Andrew Thornley. Suva: Pacific Theological College and Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1996. ISBN 982–02–0126–8, xii + 321 pages, maps, photographs, notes, references, index. US$11, includes surface postage.

This remarkable but uneven book contains fifteen essays about Pacific Islanders who have served as missionaries in Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia from the early nineteenth century to the present day. These men and women came from earlier centers of missionary activity like Tahiti, Tonga, the Cook Islands, and Sāmoa, and were sent by the London Missionary Society, the Methodist missions, and Roman Catholic missions to a succession of frontiers, like Fiji, Tuvalu, southern Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, and Papua. The authors come from diverse intellectual communities; some use theological and missiological vocabularies; a number are themselves Pacific Islanders. As the editors point out, however, all are attempting to "retrieve the pastors" for a general audience, to explore what these missionaries were up to and who these men and women really were.

The task is not easy, because Pacific Islander missionaries have come to be known more by reputation than by record. European missionaries praised or criticized their work; ship captains, scientists, and government personnel commended or condemned their character. Home congregations sometimes memorialized their missionary brothers and sisters; the people they

evangelized sometimes storied them. But for a variety of reasons, the Pacific Islander missionaries themselves have left relatively few writings that have been preserved. "Retrieving the pastors," then, is a task not unlike that of reclaiming the lives and works of others whom history has silenced, such as women, youth, ethnic minorities, or the working class.

The Covenant Makers is a virtual compendium of genres in which historical reclamation can be assayed. Sione Lātūkefu, for example, paints with a broad brush. His depiction of over a century and a half of LMS and Methodist activity in Papua and the Solomon Islands by Fijian, Samoan, and Tongan missionaries elaborates general themes that he thinks applicable to other cases "despite minor differences due to the particular cultural attributes of the missionaries and the missionized" (17). In contrast, Featuna'i Liua'ana focuses on particulars: island by island, she details the postings, departures, tribulations, and deaths of Samoan missionaries (LMS) to southern Vanuatu from 1839 to 1860. Some authors opt for historical narrative—religiously informed, as for example, Papa Aratangi's essay on the contribution of Tahitian missionaries to the founding of Mangaian Christianity from 1824 to 1839, or secular, as in Andrew Thornley's piece on early mission work by Tahitians in Fiji. A more sociological approach is offered by Doug Munro, who explores the structural bases of the extraordinary relationships between powerful Samoan pastors and their Tuvaluan congregations, between 1865 and 1899. But this is not all. Michael Goldsmith uses personal narrative to remember his own relationship with a modern-day Tuvaluan pastor, Alovaka Maui; Charles Forman has obtained and edited a memoir by Turakiare Teauariki, a recent Cook Island missionary to Papua; there is even a photographic essay by Max Quanchi, which is more about the image-making of European missionaries in Papua than about the Pacific Islanders, who were so often left out.

Because of the geographical spread, historical sweep, and variety of voices and genres in this collection, it is not easy to summarize their findings. Certainly, however, one cannot but be impressed by the incredible courage and vulnerability of the pioneers, by the contradictions and ambiguities of their relationships with white missionaries, and by the elusive nature of their contribution to the growth and shape of Christianity in the areas where they worked. The story of Pacific Islanders working for the London Missionary Society in Papua, discussed here by Sione Lātūkefu, and by Steve Mullins and David Wetherell, illustrates these themes well. Perhaps no group of missionaries suffered more than the early arrivals: in the first thirty years, 82 teachers had been memorialized in a window at Vatorata College, having died of disease or even violence, and if their wives and children had been included, the total would have been 130 at least (192). The arguments among white missionaries—McFarlane, Lawes, and Chalmers—over the role of Pacific Island pastors were perhaps nowhere sharper than in Papua (172). And the contribution of Pacific Island missionaries to the local

church—particularly the Samoans, who dominated the pastoral ranks after 1884—was probably nowhere so controversial or profound.

As the Papuan case suggests, the situation of Pacific Islander missionaries raises important questions about the history, sociology, and cultures of Christianity in the Pacific. Not least among them, as Michael Goldsmith points out in his essay on a contemporary Tuvaluan pastor in Tuvalu, is the meaning of the term *missionary* itself. Institutionally, its use is a window on often-contested relations of race, gender, and power in the church. During the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, for example, white missionaries tended to call their Pacific Islander colleagues, "teachers," "pastors," "catechists"—almost everything *but* "missionary." As Jeanette Little observes in her valuable contribution on Mary Kaaialii Kahelemauna Nawaa, they also withheld that title from the wives of Pacific Islander missionaries (just as they did from the wives of white missionaries) for a very long time.

Of course, use of the term *missionary* has also implied perceptions of social and cultural distance from an "other"—even when that relationship is, strictly speaking, confessionally or spiritually defined (Christian or not Christian, and so on). Here, too, the perception among mission leaders that Pacific Islanders were not all that different from each other appears to have contributed both to their heavy use in frontier fields and to their low profile in official historical and photographic records.

No one could deny that retrieving these missionaries for a wider audience is a humane and worthy goal. One can only regret that in so doing, these essays make little reference to literatures beyond the immediate historical and documentary sources for their particular eras and areas. It will be up to the reader to make the connections with the growing body of ethnographic work on missionaries and Christianity in the Pacific (or elsewhere), not to mention the more general fields of colonial, postcolonial, mission, or gender studies.

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Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific, edited by Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas. Studies in Anthropology and History, 19. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997. ISBN 90–5702–086–6, xv + 256 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, name index. Cloth, US$58; paper, US$24.

A sense of national identity is often thought to be weak, or absent, in the South Pacific. Here a group of anthropologists, historians, and a political scientist look at how "narratives of nation" are, or are not, expressed in different kinds of text. Stephanie Lawson finds parallels between propaganda texts for the Fiji coups and Western European criticism of the French Revolution. But her target is the ideology of traditionalism, rather than nationalism itself. Ton Otto uses content analysis of Bernard Narokobi's newspaper articles to show that his